CHAPTER -I

LAMBANI ELITE: A SOCIOLOGICAL ELITE

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CHAPTER – I
LAMBANI ELITE: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Introduction:
The concept of Elite is of great importance in discussing the problems and all-round development of any community. It assumes more significance in those communities who are deprived of basic rights and privileges for centuries; Lambani community is not an exception to this. Therefore, the concept of Lambani elite is of great significance. Like other caste groups Lambanis also have elite, this number is increasing. Thanks to the provisions provided under the constitution of India to the development of underprivileged sections of the society. The fundamental question that arises at this stage of the development of elite are: who are the elite? What is their socio-economic background. How do they achieve the position of elite? What are the differences between them and non-Lambani elite, particularly between them and scheduled caste elite. Hence the study of the social forces creating new elite as well as the activities of elite themselves in social transformation would be extremely fruitful under the conditions of accelerated phase of industrialisation, the rapid growth of population, resulting from improvement of medical care, and other welfare services, political instability, demand for higher level of consumption and welfare, powerful opposition for change of traditional way of life, the economic and social development of the Lambanis has become very difficult.
Under such circumstances the importance of elite and leaders, who are capable of inspiring effective action, controlling and directing events of fellow Lambanis are of great significance.

In view of this it is of paramount interest to analyse the concept of elite-theories of elite, factors responsible for emergence of Lambani elite, occupational mobility amongst Lambanis and perception of change by Lambani elite.

Who are Lambanis?

Once upon a time Lambani were a well known migratory or nomadic tribe of India. Lambanis can be found in different parts of the country and they are known by different name. In Gujarat they are called as Banjara and Charan. In the states of Rajasthan they are known as, Banjara, Ladeniya, Gamalia and Gawariya. In Andhra Pradesh they are referred to as Sugali, Sukali, Lambada. They are known as Sugal & Labadi in the states of Tamilnadu. In the states of Bihar they are called as Banjara. In Orrissa they are known as Labani and Banjari and in Karnataka State they are called as Lamani, Lambani, Lamadi, Labani, Laman and Banjara. Thurston\(^1\) mentions that 'the Lambadis are also called as Lambani, Brinjari or Baniaras are the well known tribe of carriers who are found all over western and southern India.

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One of their principal sub caste is known under the name of Lambani and this name (of principal sub caste) is known as Banjara and Lambani. Because of the above differences in nomenclature in various parts of the country they have been classified into different categories. In Bihar, Orrissa, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat they have been put under the list of Scheduled Tribes. They are in the list of Scheduled Castes in the states of Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Rajasthan, and Kerala. In the states of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Tamilnadu they come under the list of De-Notified Tribes and in the rest of the States they are included in the list of other Backward Community. According to 1981 census the total population of Lambanis in Karnataka was 607189. Lambanis are to be found predominantly in rural areas. Banjari an Indo-Aryan language is spoken within the family and kingroup. They converse with others in Kannada language. They use Kannada scripts.

The Lambani community is identified by their unique dress and ornaments worn by women, apart from body marking and tattooing. According to Karve\(^2\) "the Lambanis are below medium to medium in height, the shape of their head is round and they have a broad facial and nasal profile. They are occasionally non-vegetarians. Rice, Jowar, Bajra wheat and Ragi are their staple cereals taken with pulses like Tur, Moong, Beans and Urad.

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2. Karve, I., "Anthropometric Measurements in Karnataka and, Orissa and a Comparison of these two Regions with Maharashtra"; Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay Vol.8(1), 1954 PP. 45-75.
men and women occasionally consume alcohol from the market and also brewed at home. Smoking beedi and cigarette, and chewing betel leaf and tobacco, are common habits among Lambanis.”

The Lambanis are divided into patrilineal exogamous clans like Rathod, Pomhar, Chauvan and Vadatya. These clan regulate marital alliance, and indicate social status and descent. There has been a change in their surname, i.e., Lamani has changed to Naik. Marriage with one's fathers sister's, mother's brothers or elder sister's daughter is allowed. Levitate and sororate (junior) are allowed. Adult marriages are practiced, which are settled by negation. Monogamy is practiced among Lambanis. Marriage symbols are upper arm rings (chuder balya), pendants (ghogri) and thali. Dowry is paid in the form of either cash or kind. Divorce is allowed with social and judicial approval on grounds of adultery and maladjustment. Divorce compensation is given to the wife's parents. Both men and women are allowed to take divorce and the children continue to live with their father. Widow, Widower and divorcee are allowed to remarry. Nuclear and extended families are to be found among Lambanis. Male members inherit the property and succession pass on to the eldest son. Women take part in agriculture and animal husbandry, in the collection of fire wood and potable water, and in social, religious and political activities. Women also contribute to family income. Lambani observe birth pollution and have a naming ceremony. Puberty rites
are performed for girls. The marriage ceremony is held at the bride's place or in the public hall and the feast is hosted by both sides. The act of marriage is consummated at the bride's mother's house. The dead are cremated and death pollution is observed for ten days. The mortal remains are disposed off in river. Every year ancestor worship is observed.

Majority of the Lambanis are landless labourers, except few, who are the owners of the land. Trading and liquor manufacturing is the traditional occupation of the Lambanis. Child labour exists among Lambanis. Payments are made in cash and kind. Lambanis' caste panchayat (council) settles disputes and imposes fines on offenders involved in the cases of adultery, rape, elopement etc.

The art of body-tattooing and crafts like embroidery, carpentry and black smithy are in vogue among them. The community has oral traditions, folk tales and folklore. Both men and women sung folksongs. Their musical instruments are percussion, bronze plates and cymbals.

They have strong faith in Hindu religion and they worship deities pertaining to family, village and region of the great tradition. Priests from other communities as well as from Lambani community perform various rituals, treat spirit sickness etc. Festivals like Ugadi, Dasara, Deepavali, Karhunnime etc., are observed by them with a great enthusiasm.
They accept water and cooked food from the Brahman, Lingayat, Jain and Vokkaliga communities. Uncooked food items are accepted and exchanged with all. They share water sources with others. Among Lamanis there are engineers, doctors, teachers, administrators and political leaders at both regional and national level to forge modern intercommunity linkages.

They are in favour of formal education for both boys and girls. Boys study up to college level and girls study up to the secondary level. However, many of them belong to rural areas, remain illiterate due to social and economic reasons. According to 1981 census, the literacy rate among Lambani is 13.54 per cent which shows that they are still lagging behind in the field of education. The literacy rate among men and women is 21.54 per cent and 5.02 per cent respectively, which shows that female literacy rate is very less compared to their counterpart.

They make use of both type of medicines i.e., traditional and modern. After four or more children, women undergo tubectomy. Facilities like drinking water, electricity, medical and communication, are available to them. Lambanis are covered under integrated rural development programme (IRDP) and other schemes by voluntary agencies. Some of the Lambanis are self employed in animal husbandry, and brick and charcoal making. They make use of firewood and cowdung cakes for cooking.
Origin and Development of Lambani Community:

About a century ago, the Lambanis were nomadic transporters and petty traders; today, they lead mostly a sedentary life because of the changes that have taken place in their traditional economy since their nomadic days. As a result of these economic changes, other aspects of their life have also undergone changes.

Today the backward communities such as the Lambani are subjected to greater interference in the life, as they are subjected not only to the usual processive, but also to the induced changes—all these operating simultaneously. The Lambani had been listed by the state government as one of the areas of study and as a scheduled caste since July 1977 (though they do not suffer from any untouchability), the Lamanis are exposed to welfare programmes such as the special educational incentives, provisions for sanitary and public health facilities, grant of lands for cultivation and house building etc.

The Lamanis are said to have come to South India along with the Muslim invaders, as transporters of supplies to their armies.

Since the Lamani have been the people on the move till the seventies of the last century, the historical account has to encompass the pan-Indian canvas, which can provide us a perspective of the past of the Lamani of this region.
According to the "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics"\(^3\), their origin is probably Dravidian, but they now all trace their descent from the Brahman or Rajput tribes of North India. According to Nanjundayya and Iyyer\(^4\), "Traditionally, the Lamanis or Banjara, have been carriers of supplies and drivers of pack-bullocks. They are known variously in different parts of the country, as vanjari (wanderers in the jungle) Lambada, Lamani and Labhan. All these words except the first are derived from the Sanskrit word Lavana, meaning salt, which was one of their principal items of trade". The word Banjara is said to be derived from the Sanskrit word Vanachara, wanderers of the jungle.

Lt. Col. Tod\(^5\) opines that most nomadic communities believe that they are descended from Rajput ancestry. They say that there are in all thirty six nomadic and semi-nomadic groups. Incidentally this number coincides with the Rajput dynasties referred to as "Royal Races" also mentioned in Hindu Scriptures. Communities which are similar to Banjara (Lamani) are Kanjar Bhat, the Habura, the Nat, the Sansi, the Beriya, the Moghia, the Bauria, the Dasadhs, the Gadulia Lohar etc. All these groups who claim Rajput ancestry state that during the reign of terror of Allauddin Khilji (1296-1316) and the defeat of Maharana Pratap Singh of Chittur (1568-69) at the hands of Mughal

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\(^3\) Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics; Vol. 4, 1930. P. 347.
\(^5\) Tod, J.: Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan; London. 1929.
Emperor Akbar, they retreated to the forests and took an oath to return to their mother country only when Mewar was free from alien domination. Since then these communities have no liking for Muslims.

The Lamani seem to have been one of the ancient tribes of India. Since the Sanskrit writer Dandin (about the 6th Century A.D. mentions them (though not by name) in the fifth canto of his Dadakumara Charita.

According to Gunda⁶ "The Lamani existed and practiced the vocation of grain carriers with the help of pack-bullocks since ancient times. In view of their occupation the Lamani of yore may be referred to as non-pastoral nomads or "service-nomads". It is rather difficult to locate the exact place in India from where the Banjara spread to other parts of the country, since there is no unanimity among scholars on this point. Nanjundayya and Iyyar⁷ opines that, mythological and historical accounts suggest that their home land was some where in north-central India, and more likely in the marwar region of Rajasthan from where they spread, in the historical past in all directions to Kashmir in the North, Deccan and beyond in the south, and in the east to eastern Uttar Pradesh". According to Grierson⁸ it appears to be a mixed ethnic group and owes its origin and organisation to the wars in southern India of the Delhi emperors (both Afghan and Mughal), when the Banjara carried the commissariat

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of the imperial armies". Craufurd⁹, Briggs¹⁰, Ibbetson¹¹ Opined that they helped the imperial army, fighting in an exhausted country far from their supply base by conducting a fearless and reliable transport service. At the time-they were unsettled nomads.

According to Briggs, the earliest dated reference to the Lamani is in the Tarikh-e-khan Jahan Lodi-e-Niamatuallah, written in Persian about 1612 A.D. by the Mohd. Kashim Farishtha of the Bijapur court, and the reference is to the events of 1417 and of 1504 relating to the Mohammedan Monarchs of the Deccan. Nanjundayya and Iyyar¹² states that "In the year 1417, a large convey of Banjara Bullocks was seized by the brother of Feroze Shah Bahamani when the former rebelled and made an attempt on the throne of Gulbarga, and Deccan capital. The Grierson¹³ reads "As Scarcity was felt in his (the Sultan's) camp in consequence of the non-arrival of the Banjaras-he dispatched Azam Humayun for the purpose of bringing in supplies".

Narasimha Iyengar, opines that "There is no unanimity on the post identity of the Lamani. Because of their wandering habits, they were classed

among the gypsies of India". According to Aiyer\textsuperscript{14} and Sher Singh Sher\textsuperscript{15} "The Banjara are supposed to be descendants of the original Aryan gypsies of North-West India, whose descendants are also to be found in various parts of central southern Europe and America". As against this, Chamanlal\textsuperscript{16} says, "My thesis is: the Gypsies were mostly taken as slaves to carry loot by the invaders like Mohammed of Ghazni."

Scholars like Campbell\textsuperscript{17} and Thurston\textsuperscript{18} have said that "British travelers and officers have referred to the honesty and praise worthy character of Lamani as transporters of goods, in both peace and war." According to the Buchanan\textsuperscript{19} and Craufurd\textsuperscript{20} "The Lamani also traded with the general population in grain, salt, coconut, spices, cotton and woolen clothes, etc., during peace time and became a useful means of transport between North and South and between the coastal regions and the Upghat regions in the South itself.

The 1891 census has revealed the heavy concentration of Banjara in then Hyderabad, Bombay Presidency and Berar in a descending order. Grierson\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{14} Aiyer, C.P.R. : 'Foreword' Chammanlal's Gypsies (Forgotten Children of India), Publication Division, Government of India, New Delhi. 1962.
\textsuperscript{15} Sher, Sher Sing: The Siklingars of Punjab (A Gypsy Tribe); Sterling Publishers, Delhi, 1966, PP.1-5.
\textsuperscript{16} Chamanlal, B.: Gypsies (Forgotten Children of India); Publications Division, Government of India, New Delhi, 1962.
\textsuperscript{17} Campbell, Jamesh : Bombay Gazetteer - Karnataka (Dharwar); Government of Bombay Presidency, Bombay 1884a, P. 122.
\textsuperscript{18} Thurston Edgar: Op Cit. P. 122.
\textsuperscript{21} Grierson: Op cit, P. 255-56.
states that Banjaras were also found in thirteen other provinces and princely states of India. Thus their main concentration was in the Deccan and South India by the close of the last century, and it is here that they retain most of their traditional manners, customs and dialect than elsewhere. According to Dubois\textsuperscript{22} and Buchanan\textsuperscript{23}, "They lost their traditionally calling transporting merchandize on the back of pack-bullocks along country tracks after the introduction of mechanized transport and opening of railways and roads by the British Government in the early period of their direct rule in India. The increased use of carts because of roads and safety, deprived the Lamani of whatever little transport work they had in the interior regions. So, they turned to the forests for their livelihood by cutting wood and gathering other forests produce. But they could not earn enough from the jungles to live by. Being illiterate, economically poor and lacking technical skill that would have allowed them to adopt other honest avocation, they became “brutal robbers” and band its by the middle of the last century.”

Their settlement were located mostly on high grounds, affording points of vantage for reconnaissance in their predatory excursions upon the multi-caste hamlets of the peasants.

\textsuperscript{23} Buchanan: OP. Cit P. 44-190ff.
Campbell\textsuperscript{24}, opines that "The Lamani were not favourably disposed towards education of their children". To reform them through persuasion and education was considered impossible by the British administration. Therefore to control their criminal activities, they were brought under strict police supervision and severe sentences were passed by the courts for their crimes. Finally, the Lamans, along with other crime oriented communities, were brought under the purview of criminal Tribes Act of 1871.

Enthoven\textsuperscript{25} states that as a result of the breakdown of their traditional way of life and the checking of banditry, the Lamans were forced to supplement their earnings from the forest by working as casual labourers in the peasants fields and by other types of wage labour, quite against their will, as they had no tradition of working as servants. Although they had been settling down as law abiding citizens. Since the seventies of the last century, by the first quarter of this century, in North Karnataka, and wandering lamani were still under police surveillance and were often caused (as in the past) of stealing cattle, kidnapping women and children, passing or making counterfeit coins and of robberies. Thurston\textsuperscript{26}, Palande\textsuperscript{27}, Row\textsuperscript{28}, Mead and MacGregor\textsuperscript{29} have

\textsuperscript{24} Campbell James\textsuperscript{.} Bombay Gazetteer -- Karnataka (Kanara), Government of Bombay Presidency, Bombay, 1883, P.340.
\textsuperscript{26} Thurston Edgar: OP Cnt. P. 215.
\textsuperscript{28} Row, T.A.: Census of India 1901: Mysore; Government of Mysore, Bangalore 1903, P.554.
\textsuperscript{29} Mead, P. J. and G. L MacGregor Census of India-1911 (Bombay) Government of Bombay, Bombay 1912, P.382.
said that eventually Lamani had to settle down to agriculture, although it had never been their occupation at any time of their history. Saxena\(^3\) opines that the same kind of checkered history and ultimate settling down to agriculture between 1901-1921 is noted for central Indian Tribes like Bhils, Bhilala, Soharia, Gonds and Korku. According to Halbar\(^3\) "the Lamanis have been a people on the move till the seventies of the last century. The historical account has to encompass the Pan-India, canvas, which can provide, a perspective of the past of the Lambani of this region."

After 1947, the Indian Government changed the earlier government's policy, and because of this change of attitude, the criminal Tribes Act was repealed in 1949, and these communities were given equal status along with others in the policy for amelioration and for purposes of advancement they were declared as 'denotified' or 'ex-criminal' tribes, a separate category of 'other backward classes', other than 'scheduled castes, and 'scheduled tribes'.

Present Position of Lambani: There was an anomaly in the creation of a new category (denotified) of tribes apart from, and in addition to, the scheduled tribes communities like the Lamanis are as backward as any other scheduled tribes for whom there are special provisions for betterment denied to denotified tribes. In the acceded areas of Karnataka, the Lamanis were

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treated as denotified tribes, whereas their brothers in the former princely Mysore area were treated as scheduled castes. The administrative explanation for their kind of discrimination is that the backward classes are determined on the basis of domicile. This arbitrary and discriminatory administrative classification of certain populations (Like the Lamani) was found to be "invidious and contrary to the spirit of the constitution of India" by the Study. Team on Tribal Development of the Committee on Plan projects, the Indian Planning Commission appointed in 1966; and it recommended to the Government of India "to end the anomalies and the injustices by a more rational classification of the tribes (planning commission n.d.:9). The administration can avail the information, on the tribes available with university departments of anthropology and the Anthropological Survey of India, while revising the scheduled tribes list. In Karnataka now the anomaly has been rectified by listing the Lamani as a Schedule caste since July 1977. Thereby, now the Lamani have new opportunities to work for their socio-economic betterment.

Even now the Lamanis continue to live in exclusive settlements outside the multi-caste villages. The community is divided into four matrilineal, patrilocal clans, named after the Rajputs: Rathod, Pamhar, Chauhan and Vadatya. A sizeable number of people derives its livelihood from wage-labour and forest-produce, quite a few own and cultivate lands, and some cultivate the lands of
non-Lamani on a lease, and share-cropping basis. Those who derive their income mainly from agricultural wage-labour and collection of forest products, are the poorest. Those who practice agriculture are relatively better off. Some have achieved upward occupational mobility and economic diversification by taking up occupations such as school-teachers, police constables, clerks and other low cadre jobs in Government Offices, and Private establishments like factories, mills, shops etc. A few have attained coveted positions as administrators. An ex-minister of state for fisheries, Government of Karnataka, as well as the ex-chief minister of Maharashtra hailed from the Lamani community.

Grierson\textsuperscript{32} opine that "Their language in many parts of the country they have lost their dialect and use the languages of the surrounding non-Lamani population. But in the areas of their concentration, the Lamanis have successfully retained their language, Banjari."

According to Enthoven\textsuperscript{33} and Thurston\textsuperscript{34} "In the District of North Karnataka the Lamanis have still retained their dialect, but it contains many Marwadi, Urdu, Gujarati and a few Marathi and Kannada words." Most of the Lamanis are bilingual or multilingual. The Lamani retain many tribal characteristics and are treated as low caste, though they claim their origin from the Rajputs.

\textsuperscript{32} Grierson, G.A. : OP Cit. P.255.
\textsuperscript{33} Enthoven: OP Cit. P. 334.
\textsuperscript{34} Thurston: OP Cit P. 208.
The Lamanis primarily live in rural tracts and generally shy away from close contacts with Urban life. As late as 1961, only 3.85 per cent Lambanis were resided in the Urban areas.

One of the reasons for considering the Lamanis as a lower caste by the caste Hindus is that the Lamanis use non-vegetarian food and also because of their social backwardness.

It is the economic realm that Lamanis had maximum contacts with neighbouring non-Lamani communities, as a result certain other aspects of the Lamani life also have changed.

**Caste Hierarchy:** As the Lamanis settled down and contacts with other castes increased, certain customs and values of the great tradition must have influenced even the relatively isolated Lamanis, even though they themselves did not observe them within their community. They used to refuse to take food from communities like Muslims, Christians and untouchables and accept it only from those considered as equal or superior. The farmer accepted food from the Lamani but the latter did not reciprocate. But the interesting point is not so much that the rules were understood, but that the Lamanis did not usually come into enduring contact with the groups in relation to whom they could think in terms of hierarchy. The rules, therefore lacked functional significance and represented rather an ideal...
system relevant in the area. Campbell\textsuperscript{35} and Enthoven\textsuperscript{36} opined that "Lamani ranked below the Brahmin, Kshatriya, Lingayat, Jain, Gavali, Kuruba and other cultivating and crafts castes, but above the Washerman, Walmikis, Korvas, Waddar, Shikligars, Helawas and untouchables".

The Lamanis still retain clannish and egalitarian tendencies. there are no socially or ritually ranked high and low caste - like groups among them. But because of increased contacts with other peasant castes, they are now involved in the caste hierarchy more than was possible in the past, although they live in separate, exclusive settlements. They switch over to the behaviour relevant to caste system while they interact with other castes. According to Jay\textsuperscript{37} "It would not be wrong to say that communal rules that underlie the caste system have not emerged out of their social interactions among themselves, but have been acquired in general and imperfect manner from the other castes. That is communal rules are on aspect of their social system, external or peripheral to it. They have a few occasions for communal interaction with others, viz. While eating with other cultivators or labourers in the fields, attending a marriage or community feast in the multi-caste villages and the annual servants eating in the house of their masters. In such

\textsuperscript{35} Campbell: Op cit, P. 338.
\textsuperscript{36} Enthoven: Op cit, P. 343.
contexts, the Lamanis understand quite well their place in the caste hierarchy and to this extent they share caste ideology. In this sense, they are no more a tribe but a Hindu caste. This is an instance of an earst while marginal group becoming a part of the caste-system. This process of becoming a part of the Indian civilization is also reported in the case of other tribes elsewhere e.g. the Hill Maria of Baster. The influence of the great Hindu tradition on the Lamani is to be found not only in the caste – hierarchy, but also in other aspects of life such as the pantheon, religious beliefs, and world view (see section 3). This impingement of values and concepts of the indigenous civilization on the tribal life, which was very little and gradual in the past and is now rapid, Jay calls "traditional process" and distinguishes it from another, viz., "modern", which is essentially a deliberate and sponsored one – the community development programme, modern medical facilities, the schools, the co-operatives, and the statutory village Panchayats undoubtedly, the two processes interact and influence each other, giving an altogether new tenor to the quality change, these days, in contrast to the gradual change arising out of the few contacts of the tribes with the advanced population for millennia".

**Religion:** The Banjaras are believed to have originally descended from the Rajputs, and have myth to the effect that they became nomadic after Chittor was conquered by the Mughals. They are now Vaishnavaites and profess Hindurism. Their chief deity is Krishna an incarnation of Vishnu. They also
call Krishna as Balaji, the divine child and cow head, and this conception of their high God as a Cowherd is significant in view of their past tradition as a cattle people. Therefore, the Lamanis since settling down in South India show great reverence for Tirupati Venktaraman a localised version of Vishnu. They also worship many gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon: Tulja-Bhavani, Ambabai, Mariamma, Martal and Hinglaj. The lesser deities are Seetal, Lakdya, Vaghya, Mhasoba, Bahiraba etc. They also worship bullocks on the occasion of Kar-Hunnime and Diwali for reasons different from those professed by the Lingayats of the region. "Thurston\textsuperscript{38} and Enthoven\textsuperscript{39} states that "Cows and Bullocks are revered by the Lamanis because Krishna had tended cattle, and cattle have been the means of livelihood for them earlier as pack animals, and now as agricultural drought animals".

The change from the earlier animism sharing of the pantheon and ideology of the higher Hindu religion must have been a slow and gradual process after settling down.

Soon after settling down and the consequent increased contact with advanced Hindus, the Lamanis found that they did not have supreme gods like the other Hindus who are divided into various sects depending upon who the supreme deity is: Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesh and Shakti, while the Lamanis

\textsuperscript{38} Thurston: Op cit, P. 226.
\textsuperscript{39} Enthoven: Op cit, P. 341.
had only patron saints. They accepted Vishnu as their supreme god, and further raised to godliness Sevaya Bhaya as a reincarnation of Vishnu, since Sevayabhaya was supposed to be a cowherd.

The ancestor worship continued despite the religious borrowing from high caste Hindus. Musalman Piras (During Mohram) are also venerated by some Lamanis like the other Hindus.

By and large, primarily the utilitarian view of the Lamanis religion precludes fantasy, mysticism or any preoccupation with metaphysics. They seek from religion concrete solutions to the problem of daily life they understand supernatural punishment for lapses on their part, as well as the need for supernatural protection by doing what is expected of them: lighting a wick lamp, burning incense, reciting a prayer or performing ritual dance.

Their world-view has been changing radically over the last hundred years from tribal to peasant, because of changes in their economy, mode of residence (from nomadic to settled), other aspect of life, and the influence of the neighbouring peasants world – view. Their myths and legends relating to their origin, migration and culture heroes are replete with religious beliefs, and concepts of morality and good life.

A major value change among them is from a virile, brave martial Rajput tradition to one of the peaceful, docile peasant life where the dominant value is
agricultural prosperity. Therefore, their concept of a good life now is that a man must have sufficient number of children, enough to eat, good health for human beings, cattle and crops, and enough land. Thus, work industry and thrift for the purpose of accumulating property in land and animals are the highest and most enduring values, though realised only in case of a few individuals. The Lamanis of this region have acquired a typical peasant way of life, and they do not aspire to higher education, modernization and urbanization. Why do they not want to settle in cities? As they are not educated, they have only one avenue of earning a livelihood in cities, viz. unskilled wage-labour which is considered by them worse than agricultural labour or work in the jungle.

In spite of borrowing from the various regional languages as they move towards the south from their original Marwari region of Rajasthan, the retention of Banjari dialect, a variant of the regional standard Marwari is the most significant way of preserving identity. It is used only among themselves, mostly in the names and settlements. At large gathering like fairs, bazaars, railway station and bus stands, it is not difficult to identify Lamani women by their dress, while it is difficult to identify Lamani man, who look like any other peasants. The only way to identify the man is by listening to their conversation in their dialect. In terms of the cultural diversity of the country, the Lamani can be called an ethnic-cum-Linguistic group.
They are very conscious of their separate cultural identity as well as of the need to preserve and protect it from being engulfed by the regional dominant castes, though because of the changing circumstances they are forced to borrow a few items, while some items have been borrowed voluntarily. But the borrowing has not been so massive as to disintegrate their lifestyle, and even the borrowed items have been integrated into their own cultural idiom by using the technique of change by analogy formation as in case of their pantheon and changing women's dress.

Their emphasis on settling down in separate, exclusive settlements in order to keep themselves at a safe distance from others, naturally gives them an opportunity to minimize social contacts in areas considered detrimental to their identity, and to establish and develop, those that are necessary like economic interdependence, secular interaction, modern political administrative links and so on. In spite of sedentary life for nearly a century or so, the Lamanis still distinguish themselves as denizens of the tandas (caravans or horders) or camps as opposed to the settled village folk (Oor-Mani Yavaru). The cultural and social separation of the Lamanis is also evident from their frequent use of the term "we" for themselves as opposed to "they", the permanently settled villagers.

In fact, the multi caste villagers are not really bothered about the Lamanis remaining aloof and to that extent they are indifferent towards the
Lamani cultural semi autonomy, thereby indirectly making it possible for the Lamani to remain aloof by themselves. Though quite a few traits have been borrowed by Lamani, did not notice any Lamani cultural trait having entered the non-Lamani culture.

The maintenance of their cultural identity has become a conscious and real problem for the Lamanis as a result of change in their habitat from Marwar in Rajasthan to south India since medieval times, necessitated by the change of occupation, and the need of the rulers of Delhi who invaded the South, for the services of the Lamanis. Though the invading armies returned to the north, some of the Lamanis did not but continued to carry on their petty trade and transport business on their own. Subsequently, they were also employed in transport service by the rulers of the Deccan with the break down of their traditional occupation the Lamanis had to change their mode of residence from nomadism to a settled one, thereby making the contacts between the Lamani and the Non-Lamani communities more frequent and extensive than was the case earlier. This historical association explains the copious effect of the South Indian Socio-Cultural environment on the Lamani manners, customs, practices and beliefs. According to Saxena and Bhat "Even today they have not lost all of their cultural identity, whether as

40. Saxena, OP. Cit 280.
a nomadic tribe in the past, or as recently settled peasants and wage workers, the Lamanis distinguish themselves as a separate community in the regions of their settling down. This is also true of many tribal communities.

**Constitutional Privileges to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes:**

The stratification of India has had certain unique characteristics. The hierarchical arrangement not only led to rigid inequality in the status organisation of certain caste-group, but also implied social and legal disabilities. These disabilities in the course of time got institutionalized and led to persistent group deprivation on the other. This pattern of stratification in India had a long persistence, such a social system exist till the organized efforts are made to change irrationality of the system by inducing new basis for the organization of societal system. The organized efforts which bring about significant changes in social system are culmination of amorphous and unorganized stages in the career of the movement. However, it was the introduction of western education in India based on the ideals of liberty and freedom, specially during the later part of British regime, that mark a turning point in the social system. Education enables a man to qualify himself to get more remunerative jobs, thereby raising the socio-economic position of the family. It particularly helps the down-trodden scheduled caste and scheduled tribe people to shed the stigma of belonging to a low caste. Education further
enables a man to qualify himself to get more remunerative jobs, thereby raising the socio-economic position of the family. It particularly helps the down-trodden scheduled caste and scheduled tribe people to shed the stigma of belonging to a low caste. Education further enables them to derive vicarious pleasure of taking up various professions which were once monopolized by the High Caste. Thus, education has become a source of prestige and an important indicator of higher social status. It has considerably altered the traditional social status of low castes.

The revolutionary legislation measures of the reservation, that were passed during the post-independence period, can be said to have brought down the traditional barriers. The legislation were the outcome of long-drawn agitation of the backward classes to free themselves from the age-old bondage of the upper castes, while the struggle for preferential treatment for the non-privileged castes was going on in various parts of India, Dr. Ambedkar took up the issue of scheduled castes with his perceptible mind and launched a struggle to get 'advantageous aids' for the depressed castes in August 1943. As the agitation under his leadership gained momentum and depressed castes became a political power to reckon with, reservations for them were raised to 12.50 per cent in June 1946. After August 1947 when India attained independence the quota was raised to 16.66 per cent.
This measure more or less settled the issue of advantageous reservations for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. But the problem of backward classes which were not scheduled castes or scheduled tribes remained with a view to studying this issue in depth the Government of India in accordance with Article-340 of the constitution appointed the Backward Classes Commission under the Chairmanship of Kaka Kalelkar. The report was published in 1956. The various recommendations were made by the commission for the upliftment of the Backward classes.

After making recommendations in the body of the report, Kalelkar created by writing a covering letter. In this letter he expressed many doubts and suspicious about his own reports. The chairman who set out to help the Backward classes on the basis of proverb using the thorn to remove the thorn throughout his report indicates that the evils of castes could be removed by measures which could be considered in terms of castes alone. But in this covering letter he expressed serious doubts, saying "But we cannot be oblivious to the dangers to the solidarity of the country. Communalism and casteism are bound to destroy the unity of the Nation, and narrow down the aspirations of our people". He ends up his letter with a hope "Let us therefore try to find criteria of Backwardness that could eschew ideas of caste or clans". Thus Kaka Kalelkar's report did not yield much results due to its intrinsic contradictions.
"Admission to various professional courses through capitation fee has created inequality in the opportunity structure itself. The benefits of educational expansion made after independence, have enormously occurred to the middle sectors of our society in the Urban area and land-owning caste in the rural areas. It is evident that the process of education has increased social inequality which are integrally linked with the phenomenon of social stratification. This resultant does necessitate rethinking on educational structure itself.

The place of education in the elimination of inequality necessitates certain sub structural pre-requisites in the very system of education. It must however be admitted that educational institutions have played a significant role in eliminating the socially discriminatory aspects of inter-personal relationships.

Formal education has become a necessary condition for obtaining modern jobs and is also one of the status–indices to objectively assess the status–mobility.

Since education is one of the important factors for formation of attitudes and thereby shaping the personality, as well as status mobility, its evaluation in appropriate dimensions can reveal the nature of social change amongst scheduled castes and scheduled tribes people in a meaningful way.
Education has the potential to shape the personality in accordance with the societal value-structure reflected in the knowledge-content. It thereby equips and trains a person to perform his role adequately in specific as well as varied situations.

In a society which has been traditionally stratified on the basis of castes, the educational policy should be so formulated that it stresses the educational growth of socially deprived groups. It is only during the last few decades that systematic and organised concern about these socially deprived groups has been voiced by enlightened persons, political leaders and reformers.

The efforts were made at both the formal constitutional level as well as through the dissemination of reformative ideas. However, prejudices preferences and basis which have been shaped over a centuries are hard to change in decades. Forceful measures are necessary to eliminate the psychological and social components of behaviour and thought which have been so structured.

Our constitution made various provisions for safeguarding the interests of the people belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. These measures are related to reservation of jobs, political participation through reservations of seats and special facilities in the field of education in terms of scholarship, freeship etc. The question is whether these
constitutional measures have been able to raise the social status of these deprived people: To what extent have these deprived groups come nearer to other socially advanced groups?

It is argued that for the development and upliftment of these people two approaches are possible. One, the integrated approach, and the other, the specific approach. The integrated approach tackles a problem not from any one aspect, i.e. educational or economic, but from all the major dimensions affecting the life pattern such as social, economic, educational, political etc., taken together. It is time that integrative upliftment policies can bring about fundamental and lasting changes. It is therefore necessary to effectively organise broad-based schemes for the betterment of the schedule castes and scheduled tribes. The other approach is specific. This approach calls at an intensive effort with the appropriate dimension which plays a determining role in the upliftment of social status of the deprived groups, such emphasis is one dimensional in character.

The Indian constitution, aims to secure to its all citizens, 'Justice, social economic and political' and has taken special care of weaker section of population especially scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The State, according to Article 46 of the Indian Constitution shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the scheduled castes and tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.
Though Article 15 of the Indian Constitution prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth, but this is not allowed to prevent advancement of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Article 15 (4) emphasizes that nothing in Article 15 or Clause (a) of Article 29 shall prevent the state from making any special provision for advancement of schedule castes and scheduled tribes. Article 335 provides that the claims of the members of scheduled castes and the schedule tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the union or of a state. Article 330 provides for reservation of seats for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the house of people, while article 332 provides for reservation in the legislative assemblies of the state. Of all the areas of government benefits to the scheduled castes and tribes, one of the most important is the reservation of seats in parliament and in the state assemblies in proportion to their population. “There are now 117 reserved seats in the Loksabha and a total of 837 in the assemblies”. The concession was to end in 1970. But by the twenty-third amendment to the constitution it has been extended for another ten years and again for further 10 years in 1980. This concession is extended up to 2010. The reservation of seats has given the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes a powerful voice in many state government and since
1967 they have constituted themselves into strong pressure group. Article 338 of Indian Constitution makes provision for a special officer to be appointment by the President, who shall investigate, all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes under the constitution, and report to the president upon the working of these safeguards at such intervals as the president may direct. Article 164(1) provides for a minister in-charge of tribal welfare in the states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa; and he may be put in addition in-charge of the welfare of the scheduled castes.

The Role of Reformers:

Many social workers worked for bringing awareness amongst Lambanis. One of the prominent social workers like Sri. H. V. Kodandaramayya, being Brahmin, worked for bringing awareness amongst Banjaras, Kormas, and Korchas of Karnataka - an eye opener; and other prominent leaders are: Sri. Jathar Naik; Sri. Sanna Rama Naik; Sri. Kheera Naik; Sri. H. K. Rathod (Ex.Minister); Sri. Tejsing Rathod (Ex. MLC).

The All-India Banjara Seva Sangh at New Delhi has been formed to unite the Banjara (Lamani) all over the country with a view to safeguarding their interests. It occasionally holds All-India Conferences which are attended by delegates from the various parts of India. They study problems facing the community introduce reform measures, and press for their various demands.
with the Government. The Lamani leaders also participate in the activities of other broad-based organizations like the Bharatiya Adimjati (Aborigines) Sevak Sangh, and the All-India Vimukt Jati (Denotified Tribes) Sevak Sangh, Delhi, which take care of the interests of tribal communities in general. The educated and rich Lamani from North Karnataka have been active in these nation-wide bodies and even hosted the IV All-India Banjara Conference at Gulbarga, in May 1966, which was presided over by Shri. V. P. Naik, The then Chief Minister of Maharashtra. Recently eighth all India Banjara Conference was held in 1988 at Bijapur and it was presided by Sri. L. R. Naik, working president of All India Banjara Association.

Special Privileges to Lambanis in Karnataka:

In Karnataka the anomaly has been rectified by listing the Lamanis as scheduled caste since July 1977. This has provided new opportunities for Lambanis to work for their socio-economic betterment. Due to these facilities the Lamanis have managed to get various positions in Administrative, Political, Social and other fields.

Present Position of the Lambani:

According to Kaka Kalelkar Commission "Lamanis' Position in the Society is low and they are treated as untouchables on account of their objectionable mode of life and considered inferior even to sweepers". In Karnataka, Himachal Pradesh and in Union Territory of Delhi they were
notified as scheduled castes along with Adikarnataka, Adi Dravida, Vaddars, Kormas, Korchas etc. by the Government of India, Act of 1936. Since they satisfied the accepted norms of scheduled tribes and such as (a) Primitive traits; (b) Distinctive Culture; (c) Geographical Isolation; (d) Segregation of living away from the villages, town and cities and consequent shyness of contact with the rest of the society; (e) Their love for dance, and drink; (f) Their extreme, backwardness in Bihar, Orissa and Andra Pradesh they were notified as Scheduled Tribe.

The status-quo was maintained by the SC and ST (Amendment) Act of 108 of 1976 which came into force with effect from 27th July 1977 and uniformity was brought by removing area restrictions in some of the integrated areas of states.

Definition of Lambani Elite:

For defining elite there are number of definitions. After going through various definitions given by the different scholars. I have formulated a working definition of Lambani elite. In this Lambani elite are classified into three categories, they are as follows:

i) Political Elite: A Lambani who has held political position in organization at various levels. This includes Gram Panchayat member, Taluka Panchayat member, Zilla Panchayat, Assembly, Legislative Council, and Parliament members.
ii) **Administrative Elite:** A Lambani who is (holding the position) incharge of administration of Union, State, Local, Semi-Government Organizations at various levels.

iii) **Professional Elite:** A Lambani who leads the community by virtue of his (position) profession like, Doctors, Engineers, Advocates, and Teachers of various levels.

**Operational Definition of Lambani Elite:**

"A Lambani who holds political position at various levels, who is incharge of executive positions either in the Union, State, Local or semi-government at various levels and who leads the community by the virtue of his profession can be called as Lambani elite".

**Concept of Elite:**

The word elite is of recent origin. In its simplest term elite are that part of the society who wield influence in various walks of life. Thus if this feature is equally present in every community, then that community assumes the status of elite. Otherwise, the most influential among them would be termed elite. Less influential can be called as mid elite and rest are non elite. So the degree of influence stratifies the society into different types of elite. Therefore there is clear division (dichotomy) between the sections of the
society who enjoy and capable of holding power and other supreme authority. Remaining are subject to deprivation of such privileges.

In social sciences the term elite is generally refer to a member of elite strata in that particular field or branch in which they are better placed as compared to their counter parts in the same field. Hence, it is very essential that elite to be superior in all respect as compared to others. In that case it is possible for an individual to be superior just in one field which would suffice to give him or her the elite status.

In 17th century the term elite was used to describe commodities of particular excellence. Later its use was extended to refer superior social groups. Around 19th century the concept was widely used in social and political writings. For instance Vilfredo Pareto defined elite as a class of people who have the highest indices in their branch of activity and until recently little attention was paid to the role of elite in a democratic society.

According to the International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences that elite are described as that group possessing certain fundamental features of social life. All societies whether simple or complex, industrial or agricultural need authorities within, and spokesman and agents outside who are symbolizing the common life and embodiment of values that maintain it.

The concept of the elite has been used differently in different times, for example Floyd Hunter an authority on community power structure
considers elite as Person who enjoyed the reputation for leadership in society and who, in the opinion of the community, religion, business, legislature and other organizations were reputed to be so. Vilfredo Pareto\textsuperscript{42} – In his earlier definition of elite referred to those person (individuals) who possessed a marked degree of intelligence, character skill and capacity in any field as elite. In the definition of elite the stress is on the excellence of an individual in field of human activities. Mr. C. Wright Mills used the concept of Power elite in the same sense in which that the Pareto views. G.D.H. Cole’s\textsuperscript{43} understanding of the elite in Briton:

“The subject of this study is not except quite incidentally, the formal constitutional structure of Government of Great Briton, but the actual disposition of political and social forces that determine the conditions with which parliament makes the laws and to some degree watches over the entire complex structure of social life works. In particular we are setting out to enquire into the conflicts and agreements and by their very assumptions, limit the effective powers of parliaments and governments and of much besides, and shape course of British Political and social life. In the Parlance of continental thought these directing influences and groups are commonly called elite”. According to Cole the word ‘elite’ would refer to an

Englishman, more often called the 'Nobs', the 'Tofts', the 'upper ten' or the aristocracy'. This means the people who enjoy political and social force to command others. Mosca\textsuperscript{44} has noticed two classes i.e., Governing, Non-Governing elite in every society. Ruling class is always in minority and performs all political activities monopolizes power and corners all the benefits. Whereas the ruled one is always under the constant control of the ruling class. This dichotomy according to him is organised usually comprising of superior individuals and majority are unorganized. Whereas Pareto looks this with an emphasize on inequality of individuals in the society. He classifies elite as governing and non-governing and thus considers such individuals as the primacy of political elite or the ruling elite. The social thinkers like Mosca and Pareto were concerned with elite in the sense of groups of people who either exercise directly or were capable of influencing very strongly in the exercise of political power. In this regard Mosca goes a step further of Pareto, and adds psychological dimension to the emergence of dominance of elite.

T. B. Bottomore: He used the concept of elite to refer to the people of high status in a society. The term elite refers to mainly occupational groups which have status in the society. The people are stratified into many groups and such groups are known as castes in some societies and classes in others.

\textsuperscript{44} Gaetano Mosca: The Ruling Class; McGraw hill Book co. Inc. London, 1939. P. 50.
The people who reach top positions in various fields such as Administrative, Religions, Political, Educational, Jurisprudence, Medical and Engineering may be referred to as elite in the society.

While Bottomore acknowledge the concept of elite of Pareto and Mosca in summarizing and comparing the notes that the ruling minority with the change of circumstances may as well result in replacement. This is nothing but the phenomena of circulation of elite as noted by Pareto. According to Mosca elite simply don't rule for the sake of ruling and stick to power either by fraud or force. Indeed they represent in some sense the interest and purposes of important influential groups in the society. In contemporary society elite are not simply placed high above the rest of the society. They are infact intimately connected society through sub elite, a much larger group which comprise to all intents and purposes, the whole gamete of new middle classes of civil servants, executives, professors, engineers, doctors, lawyers, scholars, intellectuals etc. Bottomore refers the term elite to mainly occupational having high status in society.

Due to inequal in the description of resources, influence in the community gets concentrated into the hands of few for power. Often it is the case with those who possess the wealth, the highest social status thus observes Robert Dahl. While Mills defines political elite in terms of its political power. He gives importance to the means of power rather than the
Power itself. Thus he talks of power elite rather than ruling class or political 
class as an elite. According to Piet Thoens, the term elite refers to a group of 
persons in society, which, as a group tries to understand to enforce that role 
of command which determines the structure formation of larger society.

In modern society there is no single comprehensive elite but rather 
complex system of specialised. It means there are different types of elite 
confined to different type of activities. Among them the most important type 
of elite are ruling elite, since they are prime movers and models for the 
modern society.

Elite and the concept of elite changes from time to time and place to
place. Thus creating a situation for sharing of power by one group claiming 
over the other. Thus the notion of superiority is always connected with 
that of elite.

Nadel (1956) defines the elite as "a body of persons enjoying the 
position of Pre-eminence over all others". Nadel further differentiated their 
status by designating them as elite, specialized elite and governing elite.

Kelsall (1972) identified the graduates from the British universities as 
"relatively elite".

Sing and Sundram (1987) characterized the elite as "the leadership group 
of those persons in the community who possesses such qualities that arose 
respect and submission in the minds of common members of community".
By studying various definitions of social scientists about the elite it could be observed that elite refers to certain basic features of organised social life. Thus the elite are those who have the highest indice (excellence) in their branch of activity and those who are set apart from the rest of the group or society for their excellence in any field such as administrative, economic, political, religious and business etc.

Vilfredo Pareto's Theory of 'Elite' and 'Circulation of Elite':

Vilfredo Pareto, who has the dubious distinction of being hailed the prophet of fascism is also renowned as the founder of the mathematical school of sociology. Born an Italian, he was interested in bringing the scientific method to sociology. His magnum opus is "Truth Di-sociologia Generale" one of his greatest and most influential contributions is that the "Theory of Elite and Circulation of Elite". Through this theory he tried to formulate a theory of social change and social mobility.

Pareto accepts the basic axiom that men are everywhere born unequal and are unequal physically, mentally and with regard to their abilities and capacities. He stratifies society on the basis of psychological traits of superiority and inferiority. Based on this there are two classes: viz.,

(i) Elite and (ii) Non-Elite. Pareto defines elite as a class of people who have the highest indices in their branch of activity. Thus he grades people of all types. For example, there are lawyers, who win all their cases and lawyers...
who don't even get one case. Similarly, there are the elite embezzlers who swindle large amounts of money and there are the petty thieves who cannot even perform a single burglary properly. This term "elite" has moral or honorific connotation. It also does not refer to any particular class of people. However the elite usually belongs to the upper strata of society because of their superior ability. They are often the richest people. Pareto further divides the elite into two types, viz. The (i) Governing elite – who plays some part in the government of a society, (ii) the non-governing elite. His theory of circulation of elite deals chiefly with the governing elite.

Circulation of Elite:

Pareto notes that there appears to be an ambiguity the title or label 'elite' in former times, the elite (whether of military, religious or commercial) were truly capable people. However, as time went on, they lost their abilities. As Pareto says "History is the graveyard of aristocracies". They gradually fell down into the category of the non-elite as soon as they lost their abilities, there was a divergence of dichotomy between the reality and the labels they held. Their falling into the class of non-elite resulted in disequilibrium in society. This was zilled up by people from the non-elite group who were capable to become elite. Thus there was a circulation of elite Pareto said that the circulation of elites works well in a society that is fully open and which has total social mobility. He thus pleaded for an open society that allows such
mobility. In reality wealth and family connection helps people to hold on their 'lables', even if they are not capable. This results in the weakening of society.

Circulation of Elite in the Political and Economic fields:

Pareto also said that besides natural qualities there is an unequal distribution of residues in society. Those with a preponderance of class-I residues, he likens to Machiavelli's "Foxes" they are bold and innovative but lacking in fidelity to principles and those qualities that make for a stable society. They use cunning but are reluctant to use force. Men with class-II residues are likened to Machiavelli's 'lion'. They have strong feelings of loyalty to family, tribe, state and nation. They display feelings of patriotism and religious zeal and are not afraid to use force. Pareto felt that in Italy and France of his day, the "foxes" were predominant there were many unscrupulous manipulation and schemers around. If they were allowed to continue, The basis of society, would be threatened. However, he said that the 'lions' would soon sweep them away and establish a new type of governing elite. They would not be able to manage for long, however since the inventiveness of the foxes is needed for the progress of society, the 'foxes' would once again penetrate the governing elite and thus history would turn a full circle.

Pareto also saw the existence as people with class-I (Instinct for combination) in the economic field in the persons of "speculators". They were
responsible for innovations and social changes. People with class-II residues (Group Persistencies) could be seen in "Rentiers" who were responsible for social and economical stability.

Pareto concluded his analysis of the theory of elite and circulation of elite by saying that in order to have stable political, and social structure we must have a governing elite that has a good balance and combination of men with class-I and class-II residues.

**Evaluation:**

Pareto must be applaud for his attempt to combine the concepts of governing elite with social mobility and psychological traits. His theory has spawned much thinking, and research, especially Schumpeters reappraisal of democracy. The only drawback is that history has not borne Pareto out. In this context the appeal for an open and perfectly mobile society seems to a bit naive.

**Classification of Elite:**

Gaetono Mosca had divided elite into two categories viz.; (i) Governing, (ii) Non-governing bodies. Governing elite is one who has great role to play in the Government. Non-Government elite comprises the rest.

According to Laswell\(^45\) there are as many types of elite as there are forms of instructions. Laswell further wrote that "the concept of elite is classificatory and descriptive, designating the holders of high positions in a

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given society. There are as many elite as there are values. Besides the elite of power there are elite of wealth, respect and knowledge etc." Laswell postulated value spheres into 8 categories i.e., 'power' 'enlightenment', 'wealth', 'well being', 'skill', affection', 'respect'; and 'rectitude'.

Classification of St.Simon and Mannheim are considered to be the best classification of elite. According to Simon elite are classified into scientists, economic organizers, and cultural and religious leaders, whereas Mannheim grouped elite into organizing and directing elite who deals with concrete goals and programmes on the one hand and more diffused and informally organized elite, who deal with spiritual and moral problems on the others.

Elite can be divided into four types according to the four functional problems which every society should resolve. They are the goal attainment, adaptation, integration pattern maintenance and tension management on the basis of this four types of elite can be included they are as follows.

i) The current political elite (elite of goal attainment).

ii) The economic, military, diplomatic and scientific elite (elite of adoption).

iii) Elite exercising moral authority, priests, philosophers, educators, and first families* (Elite of integration).

iv) Elite that keeps society knit together emotionally and psychologically consisting of artists, writers, film stars and top figures in sports and games (Elite of pattern maintenance and tension management).
Clark and Others classified elite into five categories in their study on "industrialization in the industrialization process". They are, (i) A dynamic elite, (ii) The middle class, (iii) The revolutionary, (iv) The Colonia administrators, and (v) The Nationalist leaders.

Bottomore – In his work relating to underdeveloped countries, he has found the following types of elite.

i) The Revolutionary Intellectuals,
ii) The Nationalist Political Leaders,
iii) The Military Officers,
iv) The Government Officers, and
v) Businessmen.

From the foregoing analysis, it is clear that the elite generally belongs to the following categories.

i) Political elite,
ii) Administrative elite,
iii) Intellectual elite,
iv) Business elite,
v) Elite of special skill (like artists, film stars, and Religious heads), and
vi) Military elite.

In this work, however, it has covered three types of elite, viz. Political, Administrative, and Professional elite.

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Factors Responsible for Emergence of Elite:

Many factors play an important role in the formation of elite in the society. According to Mosca, wealth is one of the most important factors which has helped a person to emerge as elite. In some societies priestly class emerges as elite. In some other countries the position of elite are occupied by hereditary castes. According to Mosca\textsuperscript{47} wealth rather than the military valour happen to be the feature of the dominant class. He further wrote that: "In societies in which religious beliefs are strong and ministers of the faith form a special class, a priestly aristocracy almost always arises and gains possession of a more or less important share of the wealth and the political power. Conspicuous examples that situation would be ancient Egypt (during certain periods), Brahman India and medieval Europe. Often times the priests not only perform religious functions they possess legal and scientific knowledge and the class of highest intellectual culture".

According to Pareto non-elite are recruited to elite position based on their merit and re-organization. In the opinion of Ralph Miliband\textsuperscript{48} following factors are helpful to the people in achieving elite position in American Society. "Educational qualification are obviously not enough to reach the top layers of management and may still, quite often be unnecessary. But the trends is towards the professionalization of business, at least in the sense that getting a start in this particular race increasingly requires the kind of formal educational

qualifications which are to be obtained in universities or equivalent institutions and this is even more true for other elite positions”.

Further, according to Milliband most of the political decision makers are sons of professional men, proprietors, official and farmers implying thereby that most of the political elite are from wealthy families.

The review of the above works clearly shows that the following factors are generally responsible for the emergence of elite. viz.

i) Hereditary.

ii) Wealth,

iii) Religious Dominance,

iv) Education and

v) Individual ability.

Historical Perspective of Elite in India:

In the past, Indian social structure was based on the principles of hierarchy, holism and continuity. Caste determined the role of an individuals. As evident in the history of India, kings and priests were the two important types of elite. Kings and Priests derived these roles by virtue of the caste into which they were born.

The king in addition to acting as the powerful head of the military also to protect the territory of the kingdom from the foreign aggression and caste system. Further, the king was duly bound to support the priestly class in the conduct of religious activities. King had depended on priestly class for the performance of religious activities. Thus both the roles were complimentary in nature.
According Max Weber the character of elite, whether political or intellectual was predominantly feudal and charismatic. Further, according to him birth in caste served as the basis of authority for king and priests. Thus caste system is the root cause of elite status or elitism. In the traditional society of India the elite group was a closed network. King was powerful person to appoint a person to elitist position. Nevertheless the caste membership was helpful for the maintenance of status-quo among the elite groups in India. For the emergence of elite western education has helped and such western education was mostly acquired by upper caste people belonging to Brahmins, Kayasthas, Baniyas and some Muslims.

Middle class people belonging to these communities emerged as political, military, bureaucratic, business elite, only after the country became independent elite belonging to business class emerged to a large extent. According to Misra during the pre-independence period the political elite were belonging to landed gentry, lawyers, commercial classes, journalists, doctors and teachers. Yogendra Singh noted that as the freedom movement intensified the land gentry was increasingly isolated and the political elite role passed on to educated middle class and professional groups.

However majority of the social scientists opined that there is a change between the elite of pre-independence and post independence era.

During the British regime recruitment to bureaucratic position was from non-professional groups and consisted of the British mostly. Recruitment was thrown open to Indians during the latter stage of Indian history. However, the recruits belonged to upper castes and upper middle classes of Indian origin. Yet most of them were sons of professionals. In course of time the number of British elite dropped from the bureaucratic elite of India. The recent studies indicates that though the higher income groups dominated in its recruitment. Yet there are recruits who belonged to lower middle classes and lower classes. Democracy in India has provided equal opportunities to all citizens of the country. Due to this there is a percolation of appointment to the IAS from the lower strata of society.

Statement of the Problem:

Traditional Indian Hindu society was divided into four broad groups. People falling under the last category were deprived of educational facilities. In addition to this they are also neglected economically, socially and culturally. They were popularly known as Sudras. After independence the Government of India provided many facilities to these people to improve their socio-economic conditions. Many social legislation are enacted to remove disparities and disabilities attached to these underprivileged sections of the society once upon a time. For instance article 17 of the Indian Constitution abolishes "untouchability" and forbids its practice in any form.
Lambani community, which is one of the castes falling under category of scheduled castes is socially, educationally and culturally backward. However in the recent time we find some elite are emerging from this community.

The study of the factors responsible for their emergence is of great significance, as the future policies of the government may be formulated based on the findings of the study.

Hence the topic selected for research study is "Lambani Elite – A sociological Analysis".

Review of Literature:

Some of the studies conducted so far on elite are reviewed in brief in this study: Sachidanand\textsuperscript{51} (1977) – This is the study conducted on the Harijan elite in Bihar state. In this the term elite referring to legislatures, public servants and social workers. Some of the important findings of the study are: among the elite the economic status of legislators and some of the public servants is higher than that of the others; a large number of elite suffer from inbreed inferiority complex; political elite are conscious of the value of their vote; vertical and spatial mobility were found in legislators, public workers and social workers; The elite are found active in propagating the importance of education; and elite have taken little or no interest in bettering the lot of their less fortunate brothers.

\textsuperscript{51} Sachidanand: Harijan Elite; Thomson Press (India) Limited, New Delhi, 1977.
Y. B. Abbasayulu52 (1978): A research study carried out by Abbasayulu entitled scheduled castes elite was submitted to Osamina University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology, in which the term elite was defined to mean as Member of Legislative Assembly, Member of Legislative Council, Ministers, Civil Servants, Doctors, Engineers, Advocates and University Teachers, and In all 236 respondents were studied. The important findings of his study indicated that: the woman representation is very less among the elite; and the majority of the elite in Andra Pradesh belong to the age group of 35 to 54 years. Further people belonging to Mala sub-caste formed substantial portion of elite among scheduled castes; and the majority of the elite have the knowledge of reading and writing in three languages i.e. English, Hindi and Telagu. In addition, the majority of the scheduled castes possessed no property, and belong to middle income group, having their house wife; sending their children to educational institutions and were particular about their education.

R. C. Swarankar53 (1988) has studied the political elite of Rajasthan. His study is based on the analysis of 150 Legislators from Rajasthan Assembly. In this study an interesting classification of the legislators into 'Top Ranking Elite', 'Ranking elite' and 'General elite' is made by Dr. Swarankar'.

52. Y. B. Abba Sayulu: Scheduled Caste Elite; Pragati Art Printers, Hyderabad 1978.
53. R.C. Swarnkar: Political Elite; Raut Publications, Jaipur. 1988
The study made by Suren Navlakha (1989), is based on the analysis of 1432 members of three educated, professional groups drawn from all over India – Civil servants, Industrail Managers, and University Teachers. The factors considered in the analysis of the social backgrounds and rise to elite status are religion, language, caste, income and educational, occupational mobility, educational background and kinship connections. The important findings of his study highlight that 81.3 per cent of the sample belongs to Hindu upper caste group and 8.6 per cent belong to higher cultivating and other intermediate castes. Of the total 86.5 per cent of the respondents were of urban origin, of which 51.5 per cent were of city/metropolitan origin and 87.5 per cent respondents hailed from non-manually engaged family. Further, 89.3 per cent respondents were educated in modern educational situations and 79 per cent of the respondents came from the highest advantaged stratum of the society; only small portion was moderately advantaged stratum; low percentage from the low advantaged stratum;

Oliver Mendelsohen (1986), in his work entitled "A Harijan Elite? : The Lives of Some Untouchable Politicians" Published in the Economic and Political Weekly; has interviewed 20 Members of Parliament and 12 Members of Legislative Assembly from among scheduled castes from Bihar. One of the
important findings of the study is that scheduled caste legislators were at the mercy of caste Hindu bosses of congress party, because of which he did not dare to raise the issues pertaining to dalit atrocities.

**Ramashray Roy and W. B. Singh**\(^5^6\) (1987) Studied 75 scheduled castes from Azamgarh district in U.P. they surveyed political leaders, caste, leaders, bureaucrats, independent professionals and teachers. The issues studied were SC elite perception of community problems, their view on reservation policy, their suggestions for effective implementation and for the upliftment of their community.

**Sing and Sundaram**\(^5^7\) (1987) in their study, have interviewed both the educated and uneducated Scheduled Castes elite of Varanasi district of U.P. The conclusions were drawn that both the types of elite took active part in social and cultural activities. Further the elite of older generation were maintaining stronger ties and links with their SC community.

**S. M. Dahiwala**\(^5^8\) (1994), his study on elite 19 scheduled castes and 8 non scheduled caste community of Kolhapur city of Maharashtra state were taken as the respondents and interviewed. Majority of the said respondents belong to middle age group. In this study elite were classified in to

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4 categories viz: Teaching, Service, Self Employment – and Social Work. The important findings of this study is that the elite do not take much interest in the development of the people belonging to their community. Further the author in his study suggested that there is need for fresh dalit movement aimed at self improvement and the creation of self sustaining source of development.

From the above review of literature it is clear that six research scholars have studied about the elite belonging to scheduled castes community, and one work relates to the formation of elite in India and social change by considering the elite of different communities.

But scheduled caste community consists of many sub-castes which are heterogeneous in nature as they practice different rites, rituals, language etc. Moreover some scheduled caste communities are touchables and untouchables. So in this community there are several sub-castes. So a study of scheduled caste which consists of numerous sub castes is found to be vague and suggestions made to diffuse the elitism may not be practicable. Hence, the need of the specific study on the Lamani elite is felt by the researcher and it has assumed great significance.

The present study specifically studied the Lambani elite and to that extent it tried to fill up the gap of the existing studies.
Objectives of the Study:

The following are the broad objectives of the present study viz;

i) To study socio-economic background of Lambanis of Bijapur District.

ii) To study occupational mobility including intra and inter-generational mobility.

iii) To study Inter and Intra group interactions.

iv) To examine the impact of the Government policies for the development of the Lambanis.

Hypotheses:

In this study an attempt is being made to test the following hypotheses.

i) $H_1$: Sound economic background is responsible to become an elite.

ii) $H_2$: Reservation provided by the constitution of India is solely responsible for emergence of Lambani elite.

iii) $H_3$: Sound educational background has led to the emergence of Lambani elite.

Scope and Limitation of the Study:

Following are the limitations of the study.

i) The study is confined to Lambani elite only.

ii) The study covers Lambanis of undivided Bijapur District of Karnataka State.

iii) The study is mainly based on primary data collected from the respondents of Bijapur district which are subjective in nature.